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## WHAT'S IN A JOB?

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MEN and women should rejoice in their work. Not simply because, as Solomon intimated, that is their *portion*; but because that is their *life*. The world's work occupies more than half of the waking time of the world's workers. A business man or a professional man often takes the problems of his occupation with him into the hours of "leisure," and even to his bed. But even the irresponsible workers who do not have to worry—about the work—after the whistle blows spend most of their waking hours with the job. In other words, the largest part of the life that counts, the life of which we are aware, is put in at the process by which men and women obtain the means of livelihood.

In the various demands that have been made from time to time for greater fulness of life, for life more abundant, people have asked for "shorter hours"—for more leisure—generally. Too few have directed attention to the possibilities of life within the hours of work. The artists have been looked upon as people who got their fun out of life by working all day at the sort of thing they like to do. The boy envies the professional baseball player, because the latter *plays* and gets paid for it besides! Indeed, the other fellow's job is often apt to look like play to us; but our own job, our own way of living and of making a living—that is hard work, and no fun.

The many social and civic surveys, the investigations into the industries, the "vocational" propaganda and the preachments of various schools of reformers have all helped to direct attention to the question of the individual's job. And we learn with a variety of emotions that in all except the strictly agricultural and the strictly mining communities the occupations of over ninety per cent. of the people are determined by the "finding of jobs" by boys and girls who are "willing to do anything." That is to say, more than ninety people in a hundred have no positive voice in deciding upon their "life work."

This idea, "life work," is indeed foreign to the mass of workers, though most of them are doomed to hard work for life. The expression suggests something in the nature of a *calling*, in the literal sense of that word, and it intimates some connection between the purpose of life as a whole and the character of the work. The missionary feels a calling, and he devotes himself to converting savages or saving

sinners, prepared to make every sacrifice that the service may demand. We know of physicians or nurses who look upon their work as a calling; we can even imagine a grocer who looks upon his task as in the nature of a mission—he may feel that he is sent to distribute to the multitudes their daily bread, in various kinds of cans and bags and bottles and packages, gathered by him for this purpose from the four quarters of the globe, through the intermediation of the wholesalers and jobbers. But it seems almost ridiculous to speak of the calling to paste labels on bottles of fraudulent imitations of fruit syrups, or to address envelopes for an advertising concern.

The fact is that most workers have no calling or vocation whatever, that most of them have not even any pride in their work, certainly no moral enthusiasm in connection with it. Moreover, most workers change their occupations so many times that any possible spiritual connection between the work and the wholeness of life is rudely broken. Nor do these changes correspond, in general, with stages in mental or moral development, or with stages of technical proficiency. They correspond for the most part with such stupid and irrelevant facts as these:

Boss went out of business.

We moved across the river.

The new foreman cut down the force.

Laid off—slack. Got job in biscuit factory.

They changed to piece work.

New director put in his nephew.

Well, we know what these things mean.

But now that attention has been directed to the need for a deliberate choice of a "vocation" as well as for a systematic preparation for it, the question of what kinds of jobs there are, the question of what the jobs demand and of what the jobs offer must come rapidly to the front. A given employment may be entirely satisfactory to one type of person, and a living hell to another. But, in addition to that, there are some people who are practically worthless for any job; while there are many jobs that are not worthy of any human being.

The United States Census enumerators have been sorting all of us according to a list of 9,326 "gainful occupations"—including yours and mine as gainful, although we may have different opinions on that point. Many of these occupations represent merely minute subdivisions of work in special industries, like the "collator" in a bindery, or the "puller" of basting threads. No one person, not even a reasonably small group of persons, knows all the important facts about all these occupations, except perhaps in the case of the so-called professions. But the occupations are grouped about large industrial processes, so that many of the important facts are true for whole families of occupations.

Every year thousands upon thousands of girls and boys leave school and begin to "look for work." In contemplating a proposed job, or occupation, or industry, every young person, as well as his or her parents or sponsor, should be able to consider carefully the conditions and the possibilities of the work.

First of all, it would be obviously foolish to prepare for a job that may be obsolete by the time the worker has achieved a fair degree of skill at the work. Since the introduction of power machinery into practically all industries, rapid changes in the character of the work required of the individual have been going on. An unimaginative boy who decides that he will do the same work as his father is now doing is likely to find when he gets to the working age that the job isn't there any more, or that it has become an entirely different thing from what it was in his father's time. There is no use in training children to become candle-dippers or flint-chippers, for example. Candles are used comparatively little now-a-days, and are likely to be used still less in the future; and, besides, they are practically all made by machinery. Flintlocks are used only on the stage, and there they can be just as effective without the flints; besides, not enough would be used to keep a full-sized person busy for a life time. The first question about an industry or an occupation is therefore a statistical one: is it a growing or a declining industry? Then, how many people does it employ, what are the chances of getting a start in it? And what does it mean, quantitatively, for a given locality? In parts of Russia, platinum mining offers openings for young men; but what we want to know is, what are the prospective openings for our sons and daughters near home?

However, one can change his locality, so that it might be reasonable, under certain circumstances, for a city girl to prepare herself for the business of scientific chicken expert, or for a farm lad to become a wireless operator. But we can not very well live at a time very different from that in which we happen to live. Without regard to locality, then, government statistics are to be consulted first of all. From these we can find that the business of the carriage builder is going down (and every schoolboy knows the reason why), whereas the chemical manufacture is going up; private practise of medicine is going down, whereas the number of health officers and medical inspectors and hospital surgeons and nurses is going up. We have too many lawyers, but we have not enough scientifically trained specialists on corn or cabbage or cotton or insects or bacteria.

A second important question to consider is that of possible restrictions as to race or color, for example. In the city of New York one of the public schools is in charge of a negro principal, who has under him a number of white teachers, and white as well as colored pupils. This may be interpreted to mean that there is here in the teaching business

no restriction as to color. Nevertheless, this condition is not true of the teaching business for the country as a whole, and the situation is exceptional even for the northern states.

The whole race question is closely tied up with the economic one, and there is a tendency, in mixed communities, for the races to become segregated into restricted occupations. In the cities there is practically no opportunity for a negro girl as a stenographer; on the other hand, a white man can not become a porter on a Pullman car. If a man prefers a Japanese butler and will not consider the application of an Englishman, there is the same kind of discrimination. Indeed, the discriminations shown in the economic field are not so much influenced by race prejudice as might be supposed, although this insidious type of narrow-mindedness does enter, of course. An illustration in point is the fact that the employment agents of a number of large high schools for boys reported great difficulty in placing Italian, Hebrew and negro boys with business houses. One of these agents explained the situation as follows:

"They don't want negro boys because they do not expect any to have the ability to become responsible officers in the business. They object to Italian boys on account of the outlandish names. They object to Hebrew boys because these are too ambitious."

"They" meant business men of all kinds—including *Jewish business men*! "Too ambitious" turned out, on enquiry, to mean that many of these boys are not content to remain at a routine task for a long time; that they will even leave one employer to go to another in order to learn a new line of work; that they are too impatient for promotion.

The most varied group of considerations is found in connection with the physical conditions of an occupation. The conditions of work in the packing industry were so vividly described by Upton Sinclair in "The Jungle," that many people upon reading the book resolved to become vegetarians. As the author says, he tried to reach the heart of the American people, but got no farther than the stomach. We still refuse to consider how the workers work and live.

The question of sanitary surroundings is in itself a complex one. We have all been impressed with the importance of suitable ventilation; we have not all yet learned to insist upon it. Then there is the question of temperature. One may work in a refrigerating room of a packing house and have constantly cold feet and blue fingers; or one may work before the open furnace of a steamship, or the oven of a bakery. The "top-filler" of a blast furnace used formerly to be exposed to almost unbearable heat, but in the modern plants much of his work is done by mechanical devices. Yet there is great variation in the conditions under which he now works. In some plants the top of the furnace is exposed to the wind, and a hose furnishes water for cooling off

the plates on which the men stand, so that the temperature need not be higher than that of a warm summer day; in other plants the top is enclosed so that the men are compelled to run away from the furnace at frequent intervals, to avoid complete collapse, the temperature often running up as high as 120° to 125° Fahrenheit.

Changes of temperature are also important. The glass-blower's helpers were required to run from in front of the furnace to the cold outside air, back and forth many times a day or night. Mechanical devices are gradually making this kind of exposure unnecessary, because uneconomical, to the employer. The humidity or the dryness of the air should be considered. The laundry worker exposed to a super-saturated atmosphere stands at one extreme; at the other is the worker in a flour or textile mill. And there may be much in the air besides moisture.

The dusty trades have often been described as prolific sources of a large part of our tuberculosis. There is not much choice between the dust of a cotton mill or of a grinding shop, and the dust inhaled by the breaker-boy at the coal mine—which fills the lungs so thoroughly in a few weeks that years in a clean life away from the mines can not remove it all. The employer can eliminate this dust in all industries practically, as soon as it is worth while—in a money sense. If the workers, for example, were in a position to insist upon dust-free work rooms, or if they exacted a large bonus for every cubic foot of dust that they swallowed or inhaled, it would soon be found practicable to install dust-preventing or dust-removing devices, as has already been done in many establishments. It is likely, too, that much of the dust thus saved could be converted into useful and usable commodities.

Gases and fumes are a source of annoyance, and even of injury, in many industries. In gas factories it is now economical to save all the ammonia and the other "waste" products of the coal distillation, because they have a definite commercial value. But in many clothing factories enough illuminating gas escapes from the neglected pipes and joints to be positively injurious to the workers. On the other hand, the atmosphere in a malting house or in a brewery often contains large amounts of carbon dioxide, but this is really quite harmless. The fumes from special solvents used in many paint shops and picture-frame factories are very injurious, especially to those who have not perfectly sound hearts.

The matter of light and sound deserves attention. There is as great danger from too much light and glare as there is from insufficient light and consequent eye-strain. Manufacturers have found it to their interest to standardize lighting conditions, because the output per worker has been appreciably increased as a result of such standardization. There are still, however, many workers who are exposed to a

constant flicker, or to a rapid alternation of light and dark. In some of the needle trades the needles in the machines move so rapidly that it is impossible for the operator to watch them directly for the purpose of controlling the machine; there is therefore suspended above the machine a strong electric light which shines into the eye of the worker as well as upon the needles; and she must watch the flickering reflection constantly.

The fact that most factories are noisy places is a serious one for the worker. It has been found by experiment that the constant noise produces an undesirable effect upon the nervous system of the worker, as well as upon his physical efficiency. In the presence of the noise the body tires more easily, and the monotony and rhythm of the noise have a tendency to dull the mind—very much like mother's lullaby. However, some of us are much more sensitive to these effects than others, and if you advertise for boiler-makers you will no doubt receive a number of applicants.

The posture in which the work is carried on is important. In many trades it is practically impossible to produce maximum results except in a standing position; and when you are paid by the piece, that is to be considered. In other trades various kinds of stooping and bending are required, although the scientific manager is gradually changing machinery and processes to avoid such awkward situations—it has been found more productive to avoid stooping. The modern builder does not allow his bricklayers to bend over for the brick and mortar; since Gilbreth showed that the output of the worker could be doubled by means of his special platforms and motion system, the bricklayer may hold his body erect all day long. While walking is considered to be "good exercise," there are some people who should not become letter-carriers; while sitting is often "very restful," there are many men and women who are not constitutionally able to thrive in a sedentary occupation.

People inclined to rheumatism should avoid occupations in which one must be much on a wet floor, as in certain chemical shops, or in slaughter houses. In some processes the worker must expose the skin to the action of various chemicals that are more or less injurious. Some skins are so sensitive that they find the relatively mild chemicals used in photography exceedingly irritating.

The question of accidents should not be overlooked. In some occupations daily accidents are accepted as a matter of course; in others they are exceedingly rare. In the steel industry alone there is considerable variation. If we take all the workers in that industry for whom records were available in 1910, we find that the accident rate was 245.2 per thousand workers (allowing 300 days of work to the year). Of these 2.72 per thousand resulted in permanent injuries, while 1.86 accidents were fatal. Now in the puddling process the rate for the same

year was only fifty accidents per thousand workers, and none of the accidents resulted in permanent injury or death. On the other hand, in the Bessemer steel works the accident rate was more than eight times as high—423 per thousand; and of these three resulted in permanent injury to the victims and 4.36 were fatal.

In addition to the frequency of accidents, one should consider whether the accidents result from the nature of the processes or machinery, from the worker's own carelessness, or from the carelessness of fellow workers. Many industrial accidents and diseases are avoidable through ordinary care on the part of the worker; in other industry special safety devices are available—although not always used.

The fire danger differs greatly with different occupations, as does the danger from explosions, special diseases, etc. A great deal of study has been given to this subject, especially in Germany and England; but the results of our own studies in this country are not yet available to the people most concerned, namely, those who through ignorance of the dangers annually enter upon these occupations in large numbers for no other reason than because jobs happened to be open just at the time when they happened to need jobs.

Even more important problems, but some that have received but very little consideration, are those that bear on the moral conditions of work. Take a dozen occupations with which you are acquainted, and answer for each of them this question: "Is the work justified morally, or does it rest upon the exploitation of vanity, or stupidity or ignorance or helplessness?"

In the middle ages, when the ideals of craftsmanship reached the climax of their development, men put religious zeal into the hammer blows that went into the building of a cathedral; and women worked with fervor upon the tapestries for a shrine. Such work was done for the glory of God; other work was done for the service of man. And even where it was not voluntary or enthusiastic work, the end of it was fairly clear. But to-day most industrial and commercial workers have lost the connection between the particular processes in which they are engaged and the service or glory that are to come from the work. As a result of the many fine subdivisions in the world's work, the carpenter may one day be placing wainscoting in a church, and the next day finish up the card room of a gambling club. He can not ask any questions either as to the denomination of the ultimate worshippers, or as to the legitimacy of the card games. Neither may the printer in the card factory ask whether the cards he makes are to be used for domestic euchres or for three-card monte.

Yet there are other occupations whose results contribute more directly to morally unacceptable ends. There is the making of all sorts of imitations of use and beauty: from gold bricks and counterfeit coin



to brass "jewelry" with glass gems; from fall-apart furniture to tinder-box tenements; from faked foods to murderous cure-alls; from paper shoes to shoddy. Can any person continue to manufacture and sell nostrums that are worthless—or worse—with a "ready-relief" label, and still maintain his self-respect? Can a girl design labels and wrappers and display-advertisements for this nostrum, and still maintain her self-respect? Can a chemist advise how fraud may be concealed, can a lawyer advise how the law may be evaded—and still maintain his self-respect?

Yes, yes: people want jewelry, and since they can not afford fine goods, we please them by making for them the nicest that can be had for the money that they *can* afford to spend. People want to have as handsome furniture as any they see in the stores; we give them some that *looks* just as nice as the finest—for a while. People want to be as well dressed as their employers, so we give them near-wool in stylish patterns. And all the time we shriek out loud—as loud as we can afford to—through the advertising pages and posters and sky-illuminators, urging the people to buy, buy, buy!

Very probably, people are not coerced into buying. And there seems to be *some* logic in the common attitude "They are going to spend their money anyhow, so we may as well take it." But the logic is that of the highwayman, the logic of the exploiter. There is *some* truth in the manufacturer's or the dealer's shrug which says, "It is our business to supply the demand." But the other side of the truth is that half of your efforts are devoted to creating the very demand in question. At any rate, while men will persist in getting drunk, I don't want my son to supply them the whiskey. While some men persist in losing all their savings in an attempt to get something for nothing, through a sure tip on the races, or on the stock market, or on some hopeful fool's gold-mine—I do not feel that I have a right to take their money, even though I do need it in my own business.

But most young men and women who are set at work can not find the connection between the special tasks they are performing and the ultimate service or fraud to which they contribute. There is, however, a side of the occupation that ought to be more clear. For example, is a girl asked to serve all day—at a "living" wage—surrounded by women fixed up in all the frills and fineries that the fashions permit? Or does a young chap have to carry messages that reek with foulness and corruption? In New York a state law prohibits the employment of minors as messengers during night hours; but girls may still be placed in all kinds of department stores. And in some of these stores, if a girl complains to the superintendent that the elevator man or one of the "higher" male employes has insulted her, she is disciplined by being discharged, while the gentleman in question is cautioned to be

more careful next time. Girls may still hear all sorts of things over the telephone wires.

Again, what are the temptations peculiar to the conditions of a given occupation? What are the temptations of a young musician who can find steady employment chiefly in a "music hall" or in some all-night eating place? What are the temptations of a person who is exposed to the receiving of tips? What are the temptations of an occupation that takes one away from home for long intervals, or at frequent intervals?

Yet we must guard against wholesale condemnations. There are some occupations that are absolutely impossible. But in many occupations the moral difficulties are relative: that is, one type of person can overcome temptations that another should not be exposed to at all. In the same orchestra, one musician will climb to the top in the same time that another goes to the dogs. One man may become a pawnbroker because he sees in that calling an opportunity for greater service to his poor neighbors; another sees in it not only the main chance, but he sees that as a shark does.

The complaint is now continuous that our schools fail to do what the little red school house did; that girls and boys leave school and in a few years lose all their intellectual interests. The facts can not be denied. The important question is to locate the determining factors in the situation. Again and again have investigators found that the monotonous, mechanical jobs have not only destroyed all intellectual interests, but have actually driven the ability to read from the minds of the young workers. These acquired arts of reading and writing are but superficial additions to the mental life, and can hold their place only through constant practise. Even more true is this of the habit of thinking. The nature of the work that the girls and boys are called upon to do plays a significant rôle in the mental development. Some kinds of routine work, while they do not call for mental exertion, at least permit quiet thought. Cobblers and tailors were formerly notorious as metaphysicians. But where you have to watch a machine constantly, to avoid damage to yourself or to the material, the attention is held while the operation does not add to the content of the mind. The tendency to standardize operations constantly reduces the opportunities for initiative and thought.

In other kinds of work there are many *outside* opportunities for mental enlargement. The salesman is obliged to meet human beings and to adjust himself to them at a thousand points, although what he can learn from his "line" may be very narrowly limited. In a factory for making electrical equipment or chemical products, an alert person will find suggestions for outside study, although he may be tied to a narrow round of operations within the day's work. While a cook

performs a limited number of operations in her work, there is constant opportunity for devising new combinations without limit, although hers is not usually considered a particularly intellectual occupation. Some girl who likes cooking may find in this work boundless opportunities for intellectual growth, while a hundred boys and girls become merely cooking machines.

It is a characteristic of so-called professional work that it demands constant growth. This does not mean that every lawyer or minister or teacher is constantly growing. Unfortunately it is possible for a physician to keep himself going a number of years on a few cheerful phrases and an assortment of pill-bottles; it is possible for an architect to make some sort of a living with a limited repertory of plans. But professional work is nevertheless of a kind that gives endless opportunities for thinking and learning and experimenting—in short, for growing. The same is true of many occupations that are not considered professional; that is, they may become mechanical routine, or they may be used as instruments for personal enlargement. Library work is a good example; stenography is another. In a particular library or in a particular office, the worker may be confined to routine operations indefinitely. Here we must distinguish between the vocation and the particular job. Indeed, this distinction is important in every department of economic life. For a person who has learned a special trade, one shop offers great opportunities, while another shop is a trap without an outlet.

In every occupation there must come times of great exertion that may leave one exhausted. But in some occupations the work is always pitched to the limit of endurance. In every occupation there come moments of suggestion or inspiration; but in some occupations there is stimulation every day. In some occupations the worker may set his own pace and produce—and earn—in accordance with the mood, or his energy, or his health; in others the pace is set by the machinery or by the speed of the fellow-workers, or by the character of the process, and the worker is under tension all the time.

The significance of these facts can be seen in their relation to the leisure life of the worker. One who finds his work stimulating is capable of enjoying life vigorously after working hours; one whose work is enervating becomes sodden, or seeks artificial stimulation in liquor or in dissipation. At best, the exhausted worker goes home to sleep until the next day; at worst, the drunken worker sobers up for another day's grind.

The hours of work determine the amount of leisure as well as the energy available for that leisure. But some men get more out of life with ten hours a day at their tasks than others get with only eight or six hours. The physician occasionally works twenty-four hours at

a stretch; he must frequently interrupt his sleep to attend a suffering victim of disease or accident. But he does not count his hours. A bookbinder must sometimes work twelve or fifteen hours at a stretch, or even more, two or three days a week, only to be laid off or given part time for the rest of the week; and that is a serious hardship. In many processes in the steel industry the twelve-hour day, seven days a week, was for long the accepted condition. Only within two or three years has any considerable effort been made to change the system to eight-hour shifts, seven days a week. Many occupations are seasonal, allowing many free hours during the year, but these are seldom so organized as to be of value to the workers in any sense. In the telephone service the operators in the best centrals work only six or seven hours a day, and have several interruptions for rest and relaxation; but fainting is a normal episode in the day's work.

The question of hours is closely connected with that of pay. It is possible to make a fine statistical showing of a high rate of pay per hour, where the worker makes a bare living and takes nearly all of his waking time to do it. For example, in a number of city railway systems it takes a conductor or motorman fourteen or more hours to put in ten hours of work. They get paid for the time of the actual "run" but have to wait at the barns several hours a day, to be on hand when wanted; this with systems of shifting reduce the weekly earnings to very moderate figures indeed. A tailor who works only thirty-five or forty weeks a year should receive his whole year's income during the working weeks. What sometimes looks like a high weekly wage in certain industries is subject to just this kind of reduction. Comparisons are sometimes made between weekly or hourly wages of different classes of workers without taking these facts into consideration, and the conclusions are accordingly misleading.

Another problem connected with the wage is that of mode of determining pay. In the first place, is pay made by time, or by piece, or by week, or by the year? There are many elements that enter into the determination of a system of payment, and it would not be fair to say that any one system is the best. But the system has undoubtedly a profound influence upon the attitude of the worker toward his work. The "ambulance-chasing attorney" is obviously influenced by the fact that he is a "piece worker." On the other hand, most *soldiering* is done by men who are paid by the hour or the day. An ideal system of payment has not yet been worked out, although many improvements have been suggested upon prevailing systems. Still, some plans are more advantageous for some people than others, and one should certainly think of this in considering a vocation.

There is another side to the wages question. Does the wage grow rapidly, or slowly, or not at all? In some manufacturing processes

a girl may attain the maximum wage in two months; but under such circumstances the maximum is always low. The thousands of boys and girls who leave school to go to work every year receive an initial wage averaging about \$2.50.<sup>1</sup> The majority of those who receive considerably more than this enter occupations in which there is absolutely no training for higher efficiency and for higher income. In other words, a high initial wage means, in general, a low ultimate wage; for what is a high wage for a boy or a girl is a low wage for a man or woman, and in many industries a few years of work render the worker incapable of acquiring higher earning power.

Finally, how are the wages regulated? Does each worker come in and bargain for the best terms he can get, or are there standard schedules of pay, such as sliding scales or the like? Or is there a system of collective bargaining, such as has been recently adopted in a number of the clothing trades, and in part of the book-binding trade? What are the personal relations between the workers and the management, or employers? Can one maintain his self-respect, or must one sacrifice it in one of a hundred ways to hold his job? For example, does one have to "jolly the boss," or contribute for a present to the superintendent on special occasions? Or is there favoritism in giving out the "fat" tasks; or is there nepotism in promotions? Or would you have to suspect that each of the workers near you might be a spy?

There are many other questions that one might ask about each occupation in turn; and very few indeed of the occupations that have been studied can give a frank and satisfactory answer to each question.

Every normal girl and boy is entitled to an opportunity to acquire a vocational training that will assure a competence under decent conditions later in life—to all who are willing to work. The basis for this claim is an economic one, as well as a moral or humanitarian one. Indeed, it is a morally just claim because it is economically sound.

Nearly four fifths of the girls and boys leave school between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years, quite unprepared to do work of a kind that will support them. The only kind of work that they can find to do is the kind that is "easy to learn" but, oh, so hard to do, day after day, and year after year. For the employer has neither the facilities nor the interest to train them. In a survey made in New York City of the jobs taken by children on leaving school, it was found that in over 77 per cent. there was no training whatever; in ten per cent. there was a "chance to pick up"; in 7.5 per cent. they were put at learning one process; and in five per cent. there was "some supervision." Similar results were obtained by investigators in other cities. Children in these jobs become in a very few years fixed in their habits of work, in their

<sup>1</sup> Within two years, that is, since the beginning of the European War, this figure probably represents the minimum rather than the average.

habits of thought and in their outlook upon life. They have in the meanwhile become young men and women, but have not increased their earning power: the result is that we have millions of men and women incapable of earning more than children's pay.

That this situation is wicked morally, hardly any one will probably deny. That it is necessary economically, hardly any one will claim. In the first place the marvellous increase in productivity during the the past fifty years would in itself be sufficient to justify the claim for decent living conditions for all workers. But the process of improvement is continuous, and has recently received added acceleration in the development of "scientific management." In the second place, every time that outside pressure or humanitarian sentiment has wrested from employers another slice of "welfare work," the reaction showed itself in the form of increased dividends. In other words, the humane organization of an industrial or commercial enterprise *pays*. In the third place, the employers are constantly complaining that we have not enough trained workers to maintain an effective competition with foreign manufacturers; that an increased skill on the part of the workers would mean relatively larger productivity. Presumably they intend that some of the gain shall go to the workers. At any rate, the implication of the claims of these experts is that high-grade labor is more profitable than low-grade labor, even under modern capitalistic conditions which have made so much of low-grade labor attached to machines. Finally, the admission of untrained children to business and industry brings about a pernicious circle from which there is no apparent escape. It results in raising up a population of men and women incapable of earning a living wage, and doomed, in consequence, to a parasitic life on a very low plane; and this makes impossible the escape of the succeeding generations from the bondage of low standards of living.

The question then is not, "Can we afford to train children for high-grade, efficient and happy lives?"—but, "Can we afford to leave out such training?"

In looking about for means of improving the situation, we may expect much from legislation. The agitation of the labor unions, of the consumers' leagues, of the welfare workers and reformers, must bring before us the need for remedial legislation, largely in the nature of restrictions upon exploitation and the protection of the public health. Legislation of this kind should be supported at every opportunity.

But more far-reaching than legislation is an attack upon the children. They must be taught what they have a right to demand, they must be inspired to insist upon their rights.

Is it too much to ask that the jobs we are offered shall represent useful, meaningful work—that they shall help to clothe or to feed or

entertain or enlighten our fellow beings? Is it too much to ask that the work which is offered us be placed in wholesome surroundings, free from corruption of the spirit as well as of the body? Is it too much to ask that our jobs shall permit us to grow while we work, and leave us a balance of energy to play withal? Is it too much to ask that human devotion to work shall be rewarded with life as well as with the means of life?

We must demand an *organization* of work and a *distribution* of workers that will yield a maximum of satisfaction and pleasure to the workers *while at work*. We must demand that in the planning of shops and factories, in the offering of jobs and in the selection of jobs, the first consideration shall be that these things are for the men and women who are to do the work, no less than for the human beings who are to direct the work, or who are to cut the coupons.

Men and women should rejoice in their work, for that is the most of their life.